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ABSTRACT

Ethnic differences are valuable to the well-being of society, but it is difficult to determine how to transmit this cultural value from one generation to another. The development of the value of cultural pluralism is dependent upon the development of both a comprehensive theory of cultural pluralism and a model of cultural transmission which focus on the breadth, depth, and changes of ethnic groups within society. Four conditions must be met for cultural pluralism to thrive: (1) cultural diversity must be present within society; (2) interaction must exist between and among groups; (3) co-existing groups must share approximately equal political, economic, and educational opportunity; and (4) society must value cultural diversity. Since all aspects of cultural pluralism and transmission are constantly in a state of flux, the resultant effect is that each group and society itself continually evolves or changes. Some groups are assimilated, others form, and still others grow larger. Lack of representation of minorities in the teaching force limits the potential for affirmation of pluralism. If cultural diversification exists within a group, the potential for pluralistic values increases. Students must be taught that there are benefits in cultural awareness, and, while classroom learning situations should focus on the major values of society itself, an understanding of the value of differences should be promoted. (JHP)

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Cultural Pluralism and the Schools: Theoretical Implications for the Promotion of Cultural Pluralism

Presented at the American Association of Colleges
for Teacher Education
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Cultural pluralism seems at first glance an innocent and simple enough concept that explains something of our population in the United States. When Horace Kallen coined the phrase in the first years of this century he was implying the description of our population plus suggesting it as a benefit to our heritage.[1] As we have attempted to understand that heritage (including Israel Zangwill's The Melting Pot) and its profitability for our nation we have encouraged its promotion within our schooling systems. For example, we assume that to be accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education a program must contain a multiethnic education component (either as a specifiable unit or infused throughout the program).[2] Our hope is that such a component will begin to help us as a nation to see the beauty and benefit of our pluralicity. The question arises: can multiethnic education encourage the valuing of cultural pluralism? Or to put in another form: How can we encourage the valuing of cultural pluralism?

One way to answer that question is to begin by saying that we desire a society in which cultural pluralism is valued. If that value is to be held then perhaps it is instilled as any other value is within the society. That is, the value is enculturated into the young as they learn the requirements of the adult community. That means, that the society we are anticipating inculcates the idea that ethnic differences are valuable to the well being of the

broader community. The question now becomes: How are those value enculturated, or how is that cultural value transmitted from one generation to another? If we can begin to see how the value is passed from one generation to another, then we can begin to modify our enculturation process to encourage the value of cultural pluralism even where it is not respected.

Our task necessitates that we do three things. First, we must examine a theory of cultural transmission. Second, we must be sure of the cultural pluralism we seek to promote, so we need to examine what that pluralism is like. Third, we will apply our notion of cultural pluralism to cultural transmission. Some general applications will be drawn but subsequent work is required to provide specific applications.

Before we begin with cultural transmission we must realize that we are dealing with the complexities of the individual and the human mind within society. Doris Grumbach, novelist and critic, has suggested that the human mind is a "compost heap, composed of everything one has heard, overheard, seen, imagined, dreamed, been told, read, remembered."[3] She sees the mind rich and fertile, a place teaming with organic imagination. That same mind may be seen by cultural anthropologists as the individualization or personalization of the culture in which one finds himself or herself.[4] That culture is a compost heap in its own right. The mind to a cognitive scientist or an educator may be a

compost heap of experience, interaction, stimulation, and reflective thinking. Thus any theory of cultural transmission, which is in essence a theory of education, is an exploration in that compost, however it might be examined.

As an exploration of the mind, since humans can contemplate themselves, the theory itself may be a part of that compost. To expand upon Grumbach's thought, this paper is suggested as a decomposition, a digestion, a fermentation of studies and ideas which are brought to fertilize your own gardens, be they academic studies or applied educational situations. In our concern for cultural pluralism we would suggest that the compost can be further enriched by the plurality of organic materials of the various ethnic minds. The richness which we seek for our schools and our nation is then to be drawn from this stew.

A Theory of Cultural Transmission

There are four necessary components to the transmission of culture. There must first exist an organism which senses and processes those sensations in some higher form for its own existence. That is, there must be a human brain within a human respondent which we can generally call the mind or the compost heap. Otherwise there is no recipient of culture. Second, there must exist a group of these organisms that function together for existence. We know that a single individual can wither and die apart from human

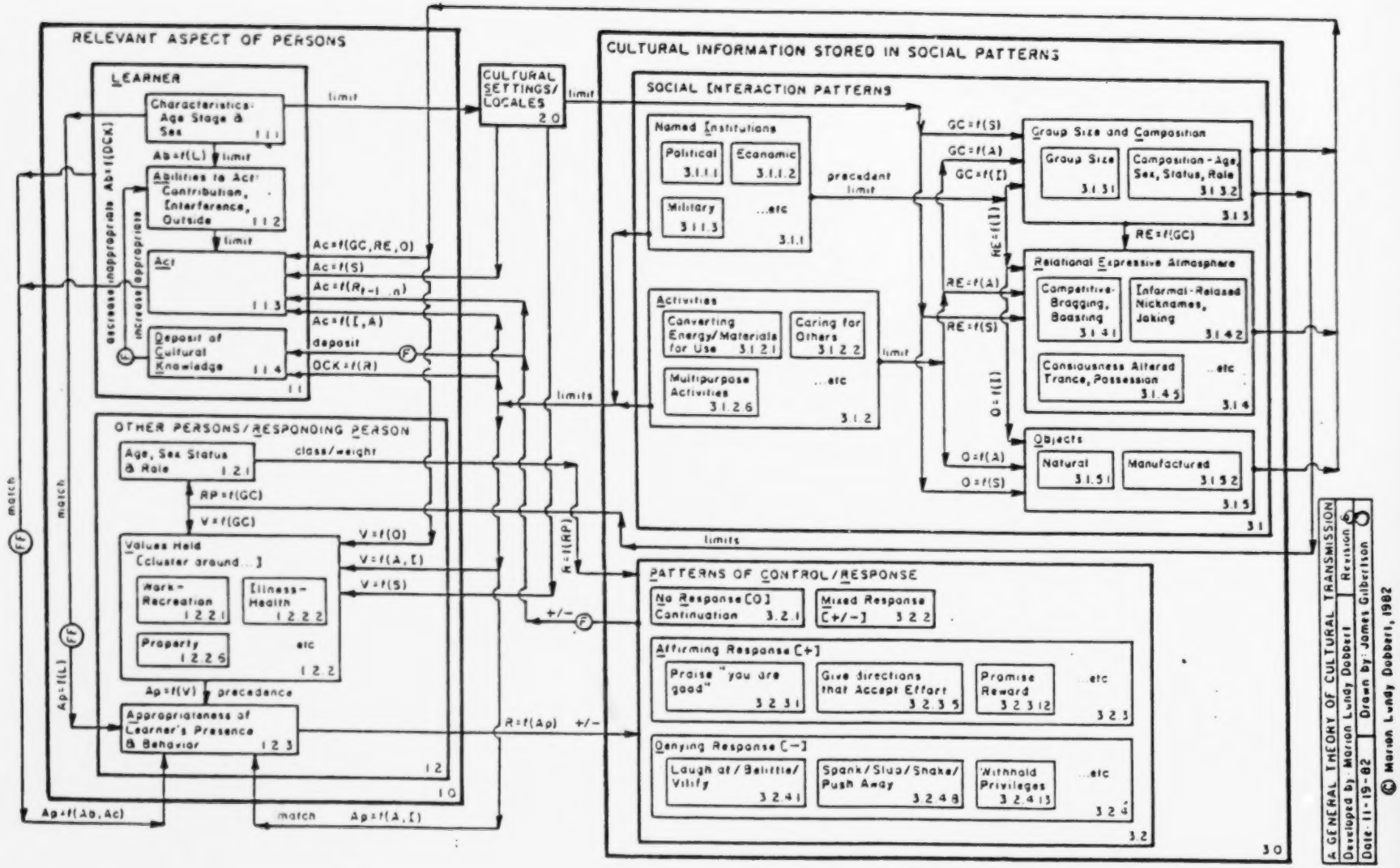
interaction. We also know that the form born potentially human requires human nurturing to become socialized as a human being.[5] Third, there must be activity. There must be action; existence is a verb. Finally, there must be values. There are individual and corporate choices made in the existence of the human species and thus the human mind. These four components are essential for our discussion of cultural transmission and later the discussion of cultural pluralism. They are basic assumptions, joined perhaps by a few others which are even more obvious like there must exist a place (a world, a setting) for human existence and interaction.[6]

A theory of cultural transmission must address individual, the group, various actions, and values, and it must explain what these components are and how they relate. In short, the theory must explain how the individual comes to know and value the actions of the group. These items are the very stuff of the human mind and are the components studied by cognitive scientists, communication theorists, educators, and even neuroscientists. The theory must also allow for expansion to understand the observation process of an ethnographer interacting with the participants of the culture.

One theory of cultural transmission that allows for analysis of the four points discussed above as well provides for systematic observation and at least limited field work is a theory by Marion Lundy Dobbert and colleagues.[7] Figure

1 shows the complex relationship of the components above. The learner, or the individual is schematically represented as Box 1.1; the other persons or person in the group are represented by Box 1.2. Values are specifically shown in box 1.2.2 and are modeled for the learner within the inter-relationships of the schema. Actions are accounted for in numerous ways. First, there is the act from the learner, Box 1.1.3. Then there is the storage (remembrance) of actions which are catalogued, in some sophisticated manner

FIGURE 1


RELEVANT ASPECT OF PERSONS
LEARNER
Characteristics: Age Stage & Sex 1.1.1
Abilities to Act: Contribution, Interference, Outside 1.1.2
Act 1.1.3
Deposit of Cultural Knowledge 1.1.4
1.1
OTHER PERSONS/RESPONDING PERSON
Age, Sex Status & Role 1.2.1
Values Held (cluster around...)
Work-Recreation 1.2.2.1
Illness-Health 1.2.2.2
Property 1.2.2.6
etc
1.2.2
Appropriateness of Learner's Presence & Behavior 1.2.3
1.2
1.0
CULTURAL SETTINGS/LOCALES 2.0
CULTURAL INFORMATION STORED IN SOCIAL PATTERNS
SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS
Named Institutions
Political 3.1.1.1
Economic 3.1.1.2
Military 3.1.1.3
...etc
3.1.1
Activities
Converting Energy/Materials for Use 3.1.2.1
Caring for Others 3.1.2.2
Multipurpose Activities 3.1.2.6
...etc
3.1.2
Group Size and Composition
Group Size 3.1.3.1
Composition - Age, Sex, Status, Role 3.1.3.2
3.1.3
Relational Expressive Atmosphere
Competitive - Bragging, Boasting 3.1.4.1
Informal - Relaxed Nicknames, Joking 3.1.4.2
Consciousness Altered Trance, Possession 3.1.4.5
...etc
3.1.4
Objects
Natural 3.1.5.1
Manufactured 3.1.5.2
3.1.5
3.1
PATTERNS OF CONTROL/RESPONSE
No Response [0] Continuation 3.2.1
Mixed Response [+/-] 3.2.2
Affirming Response [+]
Praise "you are good" 3.2.3.1
Give directions that Accept Effort 3.2.3.5
Promise Reward 3.2.3.12
...etc
3.2.3
Denying Response [-]
Laugh at / Belittle / Vilify 3.2.4.1
Spank / Slap / Shake / Push Away 3.2.4.8
Withhold Privileges 3.2.4.13
...etc
3.2.4
3.2
3.0
A GENERAL THEORY OF CULTURAL TRANSMISSION
Developed by: Marion Lundy Dobbert
Revision
Date: 11-19-82
Drawn by: James Gilbertson
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within the brain and represented within Box 3. They are recorded by the ethrographer as social patterns, using the system of boxes 3.n. Finally actions are indicated by the relational arrows from one box to another that only bear relationship because of acts.

Dobbert et al. use the relationships outlined in this fashion to organize ethnographic fieldwork. While their application is in the initial stages of analysis, and there is some criticism of the application, their theory provides a comprehensive approach to the transmission of culture.[8] Here we can see that the compost heap idea is enhanced when one realizes that the complexities of each of these boxes and relationships are sensed in the mind. The compost heap suggests the material is all there--somewhere. (The mind, however, does more than just dump the material in a pile; it stores it in some very organized and sophisticated ways.) In fact some of the perceived weaknesses of the theory may well result from different understanding of the complexities. The complexities begin to be apparent in the actions themselves. In any theory, one attempts to understand the actions so as to make sense of the interworking complexities.

In response to Dobbert, Frederick Gearing suggests the following about the internal workings of outwardly visible interaction:

> Here, one supposes, random variation derives from the swirl of perception and though and act, most of which for any given individual at any given moment are idiosyncratic. These "swirls of impulse" (to coin

> a phrase), if not quite random, are surely capricious and surely blind relative to the culturally organized affairs that unfold. These swirls of impulse must make up the bulk of firings going on in our nerve cells, but almost all of it, including virtually the totality of the idiosyncracies, passes unnoted by the actor and audience alike, having but rare impact on the commonplace interchanges that make up everyday life. (But these swirls are the stuff that dreams are made of, and without them there would be no culture change.)[9]

These "swirls of impulse" are perhaps the fermentings of and decompositions of the compost heap of Grumbach. Additionally, they may be the very idiosyncratic selection processes in Herbert A. Simon's classic work of decision-making.[10] That is, it is the indiosyncratic selection which makes decision making unique to the particular individual. (In defense of Dobbert, let me support that while the schema is static, the comprehensiveness attempted in the boxes and their interrelatedness through the arrows suggest a dynamism implied in "swirls of impulse."

Let us examine a particular sequence of events and relationships to more fully understand the schematic representation. One evening, as we finished dinner, during the time I was working on this paper, I found myself in a particularly pensive mood and was leaning on my elbow, on the table, with my head resting on my fist.

The cultural setting (Box 2) was about 5:30 p.m. on a cold winter evening in he kitchen of our home. The locale defines several items and activities of importance in this ethnography. The general activities (Box 3.1.2) were finishing supper, choosing desert, conversing about the days

events, questions my daughters asked, questions we asked about what they learned that particular day, and general talk about relationships. (Our one daughter asked, one night why we learn so much at the supper table?--an understatement when you think of all the values taught.) The setting also defines the group size and make-up (Box 3.1.3). In this case it was our nuclear family (my wife, three daughters, aged 7, 5 years old, and 14 months, and myself). The social institution (Box 3.1.1) in this case is family. The Relational Expressive Atmosphere (Box 3.1.4) was informal and relaxed for the most part, and the objects before us were the dinner accouterments and one another. I say one another because we surely responded toward one another at times as objects as Martin Buber might suggest--particularly when one says: "Please pass the bread!"

One can see the relationship of these various components on one another. At first glance it seems silly to go into the detail of the trappings and relationships except as one remembers the words of my daughter: "Why do we learn so much at the table?" Her words were referring to the conversation but she failed to realize that each component part was really part of her lesson. The lessons include where the silverware goes, to eating with your mouth closed, the proper way to maneuver your spoon to your mouth, and so on. This proper behavior is taught within our cultural heritage. In contrast to our culture, for example, in Malaysia I would never dream of picking up my bread with

my left hand, and in much of the world I would not worry about changing hands after cutting my meat before putting it in my mouth.

Now that we have the setting, we need the learner and the responding adult or responding group. As I sat with my head propped up, our fourteen month-old toddler scruntches her fist under her chin and cocks her head. We see from the chart that the Social Interaction Patterns (Box 3.1) affect the Act (Box 1.1.3) and the Deposit of Cultural Knowledge (Box 1.1.4) of the Learner. Some information was deposited through visual stimuli (my daughter saw what I did) and there was an act after some "swirls of impulse" on her part. That act was further defined by the age, stage, and abilities of act (Boxes 1.1.1 and 1.1.2 respectively). Because of the stage of coordination and because of the proportional body parts (a toddler's arms are shorter in proportion to the body than an adult's), the pose Tabitha struck was quite cute. I am not sure anyone considered my pose cute, particularly since I know one does not lean on the table with one's elbows.

The act of imitating was perceived by the rest of the family as each one processed the setting, the social patterns present, and who was acting and how she acted. Dobbert marks the box within each other person that processes this as 1.2.3. That box is in turn affected by our respective age and status (Box 1.2.1) and the values we hold Box 1.2.2). Those values vary (or can vary) by setting

and subsequent Social Interaction Patterns. Eliot Aaronson discusses these variations in behavior in his social psychology text as one set of values replace another in the presence of a group.[11]

The perception of appropriateness yields a response (Box 3.2) from others in the group. In this case, the response was one of praise, support, and "Ahh! Isn't that cute!" The response was, in short, affirming (Box 3.2.3). Of course, this is again observed by the learner and she responds with a grin of how pleased she is with herself.

In this very simple situation we have at least the basics we mentioned earlier, an individual able to respond toward the world, a group or other individual, an act, and values. This was only one simple act on the part of the learner which found affirmation from others. A mere thirty minutes with a toddler at the table could fill a volume of details and analysis.

Some of the critique of Dobbert et al. was that the system is too complex with little value. What this approach does, however, is to call our attention to the complexity of workings in simple actions. Those simple actions, when repeated in part, in different situations, and in different order, form patterns for the learner. Those patterns define the values held within the society and in turn stipulate the actions the learner will form as habits.

Frederick Gearing has attempted another schematic diagram in his critique of Dobbert to show that basically

what is happening is that the action yields a reaction. His diagram is as follows:

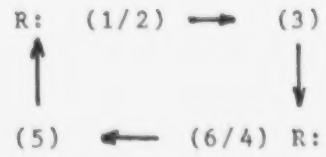

Figure 2: Gearing's Swirls of Impulse[12]

In this representation 1 is "what the child knows already"; 2 is "the ability of the child to act"; 3 represents the acts by the child; 4 is "the adults' sense of the appropriateness of the child's presence and behavior" (Box 1.2.3 of Dobbert); 5 is the adults' responding acts; and 6 is "the culture as the adults know it." So 1 and 2 result in specifying the type of the act, 3, for the child, while 6 and 4 effect the adult's act, 5."[13] Now there is much happening in the interaction of 1 and 2, and in 6 and 4, resulting in their respective acts. The interactions are affected by the other's act or response. The acts, the internal interactions are represented by "R:," which is the swirls of impulse.

Gearing's model shows, then, 3 yielding 5 and 5 in turn yielding 3 which is action and reaction. But it also emphasizes the dynamics which Gearing feels Dobbert neglects. The problem of Gearing's model might well be the simplifying of the swirling impulse as R:.

Let me suggest one more model that brings with it more baggage than we can address here, but which has the

simplicity and dynamics Gearing seeks and shows the complexity and intricacies that Dobbert suggests. (Dobbert's model does show a dynamism while it is cumbersome as a general theory.) The model will show, again schematically what happens between a learner and another, with actions that are value laden.

The model is derived from the social philosophy of George Herbert Mead. Mead was a colleague and close friend of John Dewey's and they both were developing their philosophical perspectives at the same time from a Hegelian idealism.[14] The reason I choose Mead is that he has (or appears to have) a better theoretical balance between what is happening within the human mind and the social interaction which gives rise to the development of the mind. The balance is found within Dewey, but is often misconstrued to emphasize the psychological over the sociological. Mead, on the other hand, is well known in sociology and is easily applied to educational anthropology. It should be mentioned, that although little known, Mead wrote a considerable portion of his work on education. One final point on justifying Mead is that his theories provide a socio-philosophic basis for Dobbert's model. The whole of his philosophy becomes important here (but is presentable within the parameters of this paper by beginning with Dobbert) since his life's work was to understand "the individual mind and consciousness in relation to the world and society."[15]

Mead's understanding of the individual mind rests on two key ideas for cultural transmission. First is the idea of the social other. The social other is the R: (6/4) in Gearing's model and the "Other Person" (Box 1.2) in Dobbert. The second idea is what Mead calls the act which is in essence the process of knowing which Dewey is better known for.

Figure 3 shows the relationship of the self to the social other with actions from both directed toward the other.

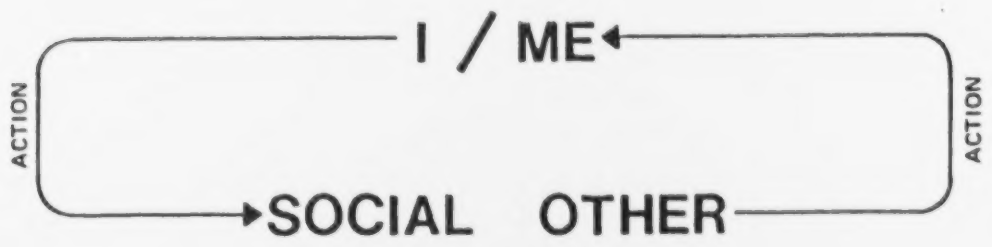

FIGURE 3. The importance of a social other

The diagram is similar to Gearing's except that the self is divided into the "I" and the "me," which begins to account for the swirls of impulse. As the learner acts, as in the cry of a young infant, the social other, perhaps the mother, hears the cry and responds. At the same time that the "I" of the child, which is the subject or the actor, cries, the child's "me" hears the cry also. The me is the object, the recepton of action. It is important that the child receive the action in a similar way to the social other because in

this way the child begins to understand themself in the same way that the social other is understood. Mead writes

> . . . it is only as the individual finds himself acting with reference to himself as he acts towards others, that he becomes a subject to himself rather than an object, and only as he is affected by his own social conduct in the manner in which he is affected by that of others, that he becomes an object to his own social conduct.[16]

In short the socialization process allows the child to know that they too are human as others around them are.

The process of understanding my actions as you understand them is represented in Figure 4.

FIGURE 4. Social interaction

The self internalizes the act in an introspection. Mead writes:

> The mechanism of introspection is therefore given in the social attitude which man necessarily assumes toward himself. . . .[17]

As I prepared this paper, I internalized this audience and used a language and concepts that I could anticipate that would have meaning for you. In our earlier example my daughter was physically acting out, by manipulating her hand and chin, what her "me" saw. Her "me" felt the hand on her

chin as she sensed my hand on my chin. Within her mind we can only guess that she formed, in a second or two, an image of what she had to do to strike the same pose. As I then modeled other poses, it seems she had or took less time in the introspection and/or did not have the coordination. I put <u>two</u> hands to my face and she had more trouble modeling. So when I did, the monkey see, hear and speak no evil she tended only to cover her eyes. At fourteen months the mind is already so complex that the child responds out of her own personality. What she saw is processed in her own swirls of impulse. After all, it is her own compost heap.

Mead referred to the part of the self which processes the actions and stimuli as the reflective self. We then move to Figure 5 which shows the entire self (its three parts) acting toward a social other, receiving an action in return and responding.

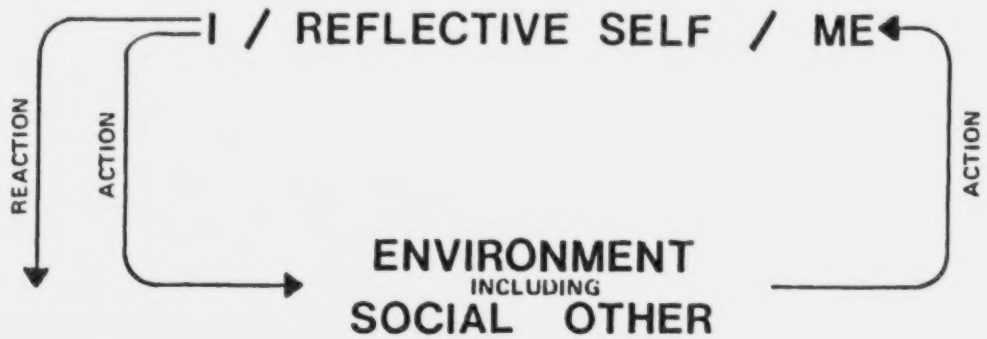

FIGURE 5. Consciousness

The act is the problem solving process that allows the individual to readjust themselves to their surrounding.

This is the very process of reflective thinking Dewey discusses in How We Think and is suggested as the basis of communication theory.[18] In this manner, Mead suggests that the individual emerges or grows. Both the self and the environment are different as a result; that is, any difficulty that results in an action toward the environment or social other to readjust, does in fact readjust the individual and thus the difficulty is rectified. This is shown in Figure 6.

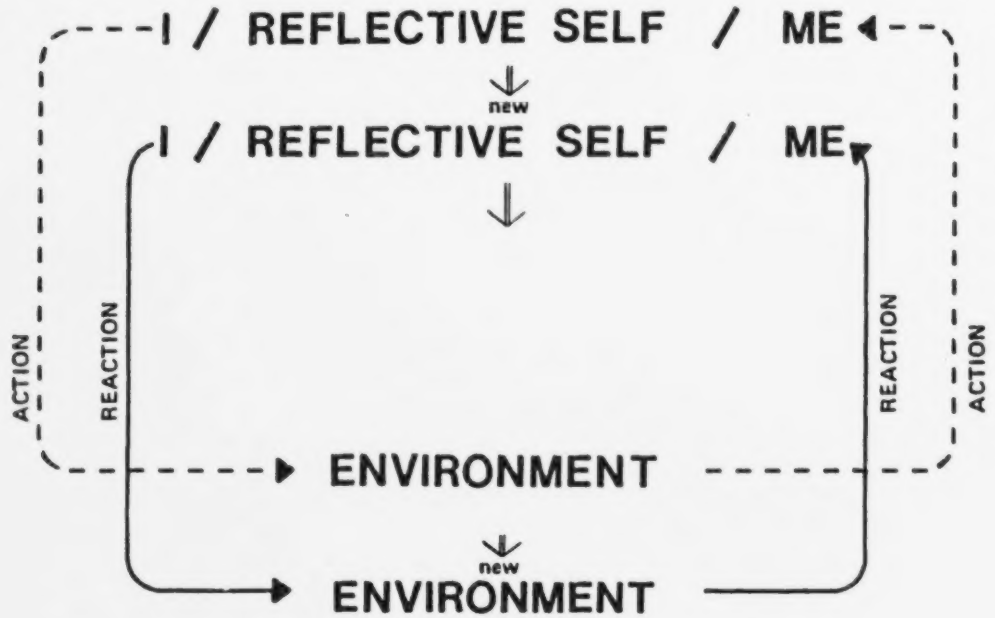

FIGURE 6. Complex self changing in a changing environment

A subtlety in the last figure is the substitution of the environment for the social other. One responds to the environment in the same manner as a social other. In simplified cultural examples, we find that Native Americans respond to tribal members with a sense of unity or harmony. They respond to the earth with the same harmony. Western

thought tends to use people as objects. (See Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart)[19] and our response to the environment is seen as utilitarian, as subduing or dominating it.

In this final figure we have the dynamics that the other models strive for plus there are implications for some of the internal workings. As the learner internalizes the action-reaction loops in anticipation of future acts (their response toward the other), so does the social other internalize. The complexity of the internalization is perhaps directly proportional to the richness of the compost heap--that is, the wealth of experiences that are delineated in the completeness in Dobbert.

Why have we just gone through this theorizing? For two reasons: first we now have a theoretic foundation for what happens as we look at pluralism; and second, by going through this detail we can more clearly see what we have sensed as some of the problems in promoting cultural pluralism. In summary, then a theory of cultural transmission suggests that the learning is dynamic and complex, the whole of the situation defines the action and the value, and is internalized in some swirls of impulse, compost heap, or reflective self.

A Theory of Cultural Pluralism

There exists a plethora of material on cultural pluralism, but Nicholas Appleton, in his Cultural Pluralism in Education: Theoretical Foundations explores a theory of cultural pluralism which is comprehensive and it can be

applied to education.[20] As he examines cultural pluralism, he suggests that four conditions must be met for it to thrive:

> (1) cultural diversity must be present within society, (2) membership in a common politic and some minimal interaction must exist between and among groups, (3) co-existing groups must share approximately equal political, economic, and educational opportunity, and (4) the society must value cultural diversity and hold cultural pluralism as an ideal.[21]

These conditions allow for cultural pluralism to exist and benefit as the cultures that interact. With these four conditions, he argues that several models of cultural pluralism could exist, which describe American pluralism, each with specific benefits and limitations for the promotion of pluralism. In fact, he argues that we should employ a "pluralism of pluralism" for the benefit of society.[22]

While a variety of theories or models of pluralism is helpful in the end, it will be elucidative for our purposes to choose one model and apply it to our theory of cultural transmission. Otherwise, the grander scheme becomes too unwieldly in our application to the schools.

The model which can perhaps best serve our needs is a slightly revised version of what Appleton calls modified cultural pluralism.[23] This model is helpful because it describes what is happening within the American pluralistic society today and it exemplifies more accurately what is indeed happening within the interaction of the various ethnic groups.

First, Appleton uses three mathematic equations (derived by William A. Newman) which define three different historical responses to pluralism from the American society toward immigrating ethnic groups.[24] The first response was assimilation where the ethnics were to conform to the Anglo values and lifestyles. With "A" referring to the dominant culture and other letters representing specific ethnic groups, the expectation of assimilation is represented as follows:

$$A + B + C = A \quad \text{Equation } 1^{25}$$

That is, all ethnics become like the Anglo-Saxon Protestant Culture. James Banks quotes Ellwood P. Cubberley as succinctly articulating the domination view as follows:

> Everywhere these people [immigrants] tend to settle in groups or settlements and to set up their own national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up their groups and settlements, to assimilate or amalgamate these people as part of the American race, and to implant in their children, as far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order, and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.[26]

While Cubberley talks of amalgamation, his heart is set upon assimilation as can be seen with the implantation of Anglo-Saxon concepts. Mathematically, amalgamation is represented as:

$$A + B + C = D \quad \text{Equation } 2^{27}$$

Amalgamation is the concept of Israel Zangwills' Melting Pot to show the new superiority of the truly American society (D) which is formed from each ethnic member.

The classical cultural pluralism encourages that each ethnic group maintains their identity as they interact within the American society. Mathematically this idea becomes:

$$A + B + C = A + B + C \quad \text{Equation } 3^{28}$$

The difficulty with this model is that it does not account for the acculturation process, so Newman provides a modified cultural pluralism where:

$$A + B + C = A_1 + B_1 + C_1 \quad \text{Equation } 4^{29}$$

A_1, B_1, and C_1 represent the changes in A, B, and C respectfully from acculturation.

Appleton argues:

> The theory of modified cultural pluralism comes much closer than any of the other theories we have considered in its ability to account for what seems to be happening in the United States. It acknowledges both assimilation and pluralism as being active social processes that function to maintain group distinctiveness while contributing toward the building and maintenance of a common culture. It allows for the change of groups over time without being committed to their ultimate demise.[30]

The dynamics of assimilation and pluralism is, acculturation. Appleton uses two theories of ethnic group development to show acculturation, i.e. to show what is happening as A moves to A_1.

The first theory is Andrew Greeley's ethnogenesis.[31] Figure 7 shows that there are common features between the dominant majority (the A or D in assimilation or amalgamation models, Equations 1 and 2) and the immigrant

group (B or C in the same models).

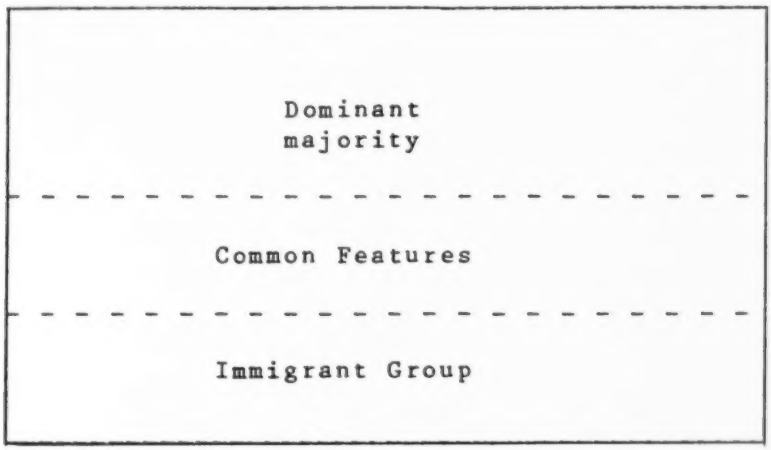

Figure 7 Original cultural system[32]

As time passes and the acculturation process affects both groups, there are more commonalities between the groups

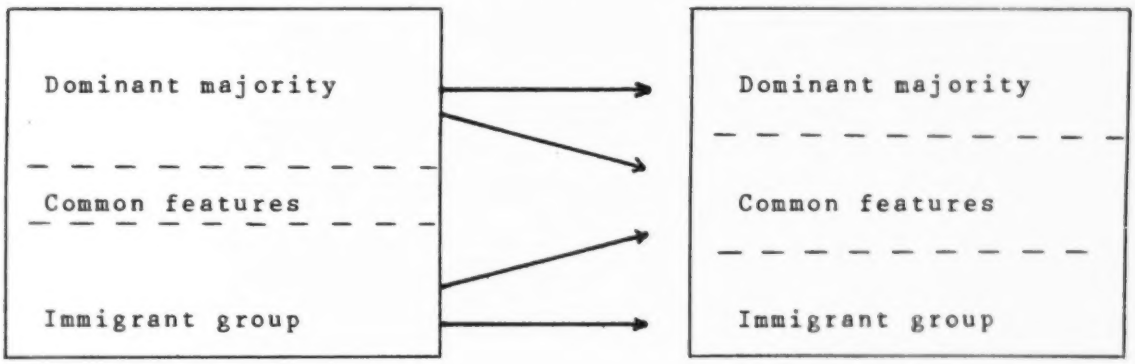

Figure 8: Acculturation toward common features[33]

Additionally, there is one more dynamic change occurring. Appleton continues that the ethnic group becomes something different, in some ways more ethnic, as they interact. In

some cases a pride is developed; in others the ethnic differences are intensified which makes some ethnic values more important than they were with the new immigrants.[34] To express the "growth beyond any original characteristics of either the dominant or the immigrant group Figure 9 uses the dotted line.

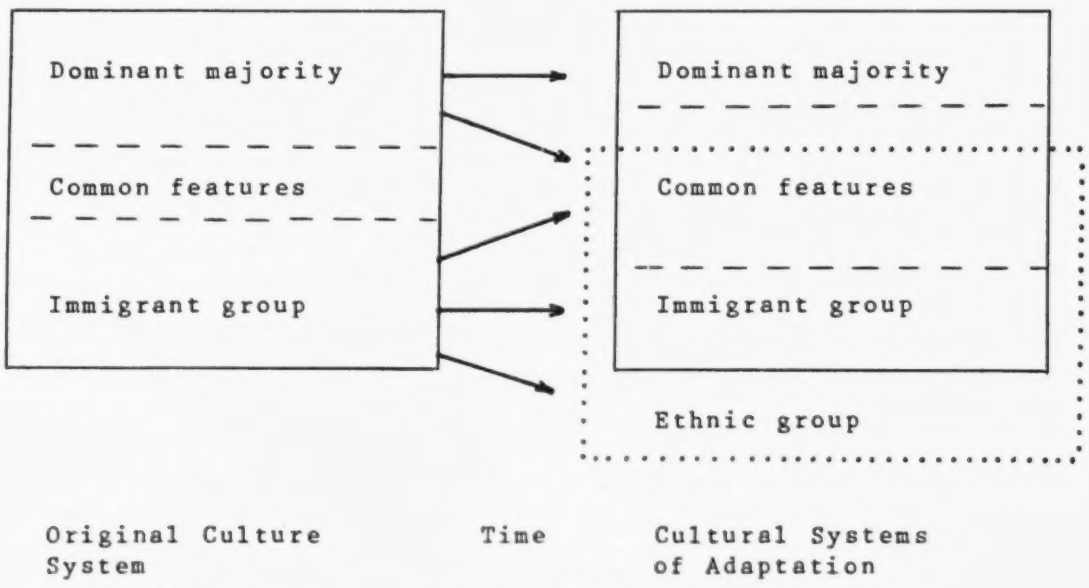

Figure 9: New ethnic formation[35]

Appleton continues that the diagram falls short because the process changes with time and:

> operates for the dominant culture and all other groups. To capture the complexity, we would need to develop a diagram for each group in relation to all other groups. In addition, our diagram does not illustrate how new social groups, previously not in existence, can form out of interests in the more established groups. Some of these "new" groups may be ethnic in nature depending on what criteria for ethnicity are used (consider the Mormons, for example), some may be considered sub-cultures (e.g., Appalachians, religious cults), and some may be social minority groups (e.g., homosexuals, handicapped people, women). Nevertheless, the important point is that ethnic groups, as well as other social groups, tend to change and grow over time--some traits being lost while others evolve, some groups

passing from the scene while others are created--and that all contribute to the continued pluralistic nature of the United States.[36]

If we return to Figure 6 we can see the dynamics of how one individual is changed and in fact changes the surroundings, including social others, in the process. Now assume that the self is an ethnic group, acting, reflecting (processing for decision making which is similar in a group and within an individual), and receiving actions. As they act upon and are acted upon by their surroundings they become changed and change their surroundings.

Additional mathematical representations might be profitable, here, to more accurately show what is happening in the spirit of cultural pluralism and still show the acculturation process.

$A + B + C + D = A_{bcd} + B_{acd} + C_{abd} + D_{abc}$[37] Equation 5

The subscripted letters correspond to the contributions made by the respective ethnic groups in the acculturation of each. So the Anglo-Saxon group (A) becomes changed by B, C, and D to become A_{bcd}. The above equation needs one more refinement to show the emergence of some cultures and the disappearance of others. The following formula is more expressive:

$A + B + C + D = A_{bcd} + B_{acd} + D_{abc} + E$ Equation 6

Again we find a dynamic process that continues to change as we study it.

Appleton goes on to use Milton Gordon's ethclass to take a picture in time of the A_{bcd} or B_{acd} ethnic group.[38]

Gordon contends that there is a behavioral or cultural assimilation of a person within a group which he calls a sense of peoplehood. There is also a structural assimilation which is political and economic as well as social.[39] For example, a middle class ethnic has assimilated in a structural way, while another group of persons from the same ethnic group who are in the lower class are quite different. While there is a sense of peoplehood, the two groups find much that is uncommon between them. There are similarities between the lower economic group and other ethnic lower class groups, but differences as well. Each socio-political, economic and religious group is an ethclass. Thus the professional class Cubans that came to the United States in the 1960's are one ethclass while the poorer Cuban refugee arriving more recently are another. Even over time one will still see differences in the ethclasses. Figure 10 shows the relationship of ethclass to the ethnic group and dominant culture from Figure 9.

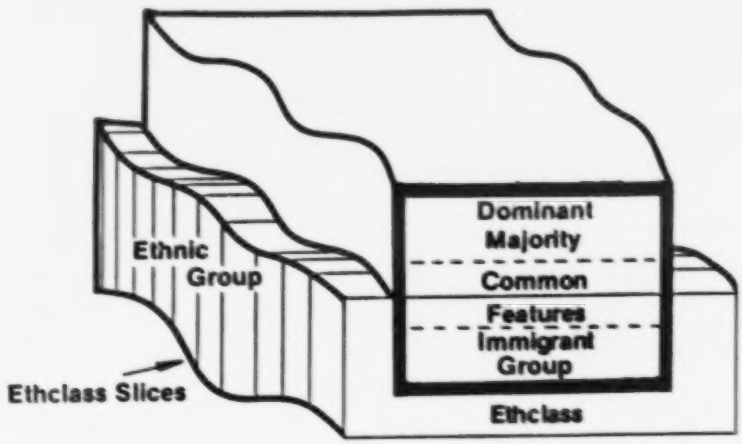

FIGURE 10. Ethclass relationship

Each ethclass is a slice within the ethnic group which might have more or less common features with the next slice. The wavy lines are pulsating lines changing over time as each ethclass changes. We find that even those ethclasses which are part of the dominant majority most of the time flow in and out with time. For example, fundamental Christian groups have a work ethic in common with the Protestant majority, but differ theologically and thus differ in many value areas. They are an ethclass. Some of their other values are common to majority at times and at other times they are not.

We now have a fairly complicated model of cultural pluralism, but one that represents interaction and change over time. We could revise the name, as Appleton has done, in calling one model modified cultural pluralism in order to show it as different from classical cultural pluralism. The problem is that culture is dynamic in itself and needs and implies change over time. Therefore our final model of ethclass in ethnogenesis and our final mathematical equation give some hint of what cultural pluralism is all about. Therefore, we will just call it a model of cultural pluralism.

Cultural Transmission, Cultural Pluralism and the Schools

Overlaying the concepts of cultural transmission and cultural pluralism suggests several things to us. First, the job of promoting cultural pluralism as value may be difficult. It is difficult because it is often a new value for the teacher, let alone the learner. The value comes into conflict with the multiplicity of experiences that have patterned the adult's life. As the teacher comes to a situation with the learner, the value of cultural pluralism might be suppressed by any number of concepts shown in Dobbert's boxes. A personal story may serve as an adequate example of the difficulty. One of the courses I teach is called Human Relations and is the Iowa requirement for multiethnic education in the teacher education program. One of the points discussed and studied in the course is sexist language. Two years ago, our then three year old approached me in our living room and said something about a "fire person." Within the context of her speech I had no idea what she was talking about, and so I questioned her. She explained that she wanted to know something about the people who ride the red trucks and put out the fires. My immediate response was: "Oh! You mean a fireman!" Then I realized that I just discouraged my own daughter from something that I encourage my students to do--seek out non-sexist language. I do not remember all the details of the situation, but I know I responded in a way that I did not want to respond, if I had been fully conscious. That is, teaching a pluralism

is difficult because I am a part of one ethclass and I have learned my ethclass values well. I am less than sensitive to other views because of that and must be fully conscious of what is being taught in order to overcome the basic ethclass value.

The second thing we can learn is that all aspects of cultural pluralism and cultural transmission are constantly in flux. Even the language that describes cultural pluralism has changed. Thus the phrase Horace Kallen coined over eighty years ago means much more today after almost a century of study. Additionally, each ethclass is changing and the dominant majority is changing with interaction. That means that ethnic contribution changes, which in turn effects change back onto the ethnic group. Some groups will indeed be assimilated or amalgamated in the process, others will form, and still others will be intensified. That is why Appleton suggests the four conditions for cultural pluralism. These conditions allow the groups the political or economic power to be what they can be and contribute what they can without undue pressures that force other oppressive changes.

Finally, I think this examination suggests what we might do to promote the pluralism. (And to promote the pluralism is what we must attempt to do even as it changes beneath us.)

On the surface, we must make sure that there is a richness in cultural pluralistic material to add to our

compost heap minds. Perhaps then there will be that sort of creative fervor which promotes the pluralism and respect for differences. Then the swirls of impulse from that compost heap will promote this value.

The swirls of impulse, however, come from the social other as they interact and model actions. Those are internalized by the individual. To maximize the effectiveness of that modeling, however, we need to construct those environments and those patterns with care. They must include the various boxes of Dobbert's model. Only then can we hope to shape some of the surprise questions about "firepersons." It requires us to study the self/social other dynamics to insure a dynamic flux within the ethnic group. Our task is to mold those learning situations conscientiously with activities and experiences of the learner--to let them become what they will as their swirls of impulse include perspectives and qualities from the various ethclasses. In the process a new pluralism might well emerge, but if we have molded our pluralistic environment to promote pluralism, we can expect no other than that it will change.

Let us return to Dobbert's schema to examine the potential in detail. If the value of cultural pluralism is promoted, then the actions of the learner (Box 1.1.3) which are appropriate for the pluralism (Box 1.2.3) must be affirmed (Box 3.2.3). What affirms them are values of (Box 1.2.2) and the age, sex, status and role (Box 1.2.1) of the

social other. Those values and even the role of the social other are defined by the group. We saw that idea above, particularly in the field of social psychology, and it can be seen by Dobbert's arrows. The group, in turn, also affects the learner.

Examining each part in some systematic manner, we realize that if the teacher values cultural pluralism, the chance of an affirming response toward the learner is increased for actions reinforcing pluralism. Thus we find the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education particularly active in the promotion of cultural pluralism.[40] The AACTE concern is to inculcate the value of pluralism in the teacher. In addition the lack of representation of minorities in the role of teacher within the United States also limits the potential for affirmation of pluralism, because the learner witnesses the monistic patterns of the dominant culture. Affirmative Action exists to attempt to provide the pluralicity of ethclass representation necessary to diffuse some stereotypic values.

We see from the diagram that the group affects the role of the social other as well as the values. The group is specifically the group of that moment in which the learner acts. Within the school it is the class. But the learner does not enter class within a vaccuum. The very activity (schooling) which the learner observes suggests that the group size and composition is more complex than just who is in the room. The child will not envision the community

behind the school, but there is some sense of the classroom being a part of the larger school building with some sort of heirarchy. This means that the student perceives the teacher's role to be more than just a relationship between the teacher and student. There is a principal or headmaster, other teachers and so forth. As a result the weight of the values affirming the learner's response (Box 1.2.3) or denying it, is affected by what the learner (and the teacher) perceive the values to be in the larger group. If, for example, the learner and teacher know that the affirmation of a response would never happen outside the room, then the value and role of the teacher is weakened as the student registers the response. As the pluralistic teacher is isolated, the value of pluralism is likewise isolated. The isolation cannot work for the good of the pluralism because we saw in Appleton that there were four criteria for the encouragement of pluralism.[41] That is, if there is no interaction (the result of an isolation) pluralism does not exist, but merely separate groups exist. The argument is that the teachers need support; they need the value reinforced in the larger school.

Also, we can project that as the group is homogeneous different values will be encouraged. If diversification exists within the group make-up (even in the classroom) a potential for pluralistic values increases. A student within an international school will see different values promoted and have a greater chance for having a pluralistic

behavior affirmed. We recognize vast differences between students from international schools and those from a homogeneous school. Even if the situation were to be duplicated in each school in exactly the same way, one would theorize that the affect on the social other's response would be different in the two settings. We can surmise from Dobbert, however, that the situation could not be duplicated because of the interrelatedness of setting, group, and so on, with the learner and social other.

In a similar manner, the Relational Expressive Atmosphere and the Objects (Boxes 3.1.4 and 3.1.5 respectively) affect the values of the social other and the learner. These two areas are extremely subtle in their potential for pluralism. Their subtleties rest in the heart of the ethclass values. A competitive spelling bee is received differently in different cultures. Ricardo Garcia compares the American Indian reaction to the Anglo reaction of taking an individual test in a schooling situation.[42] The group defines the expressiveness within the activity. Likewise the objects employed in the activity carry subtle meanings for different groups. Some objects are sacred, some dirty. For example, the disection of animals in a Hindu culture conjures up many problems. Several years ago we discovered that we needed to make changes in the pictures studied in a Western art history class taught in Malaysia. The Muslim culture forbid the viewing of the human body in the way presented by Gauguin or Rubens.

The institutional box also has cultural implications to affect the learning. The institution itself finds a role within the culture, i.e. it is defined and maintained by the culture. The institutional space and time and the institution as an extension of the human mind are culturally bound according to Edward T. Hall.[43]

The activities engaged in further define the appropriate patterns. George Herbert Mead argues that we can not teach morals with an isolated incident but must see it in context.[44] He compares the U.S. moral character to the English character in sports. He writes:

> But eminent English educational opinion deplores the lack of civic consciousness in the intellectual and moral atmosphere of the English school, and here it is possible to obtain an organized school consciousness which shall be moral and moralizing. In approaching this problem it is of first importance to recognize that it is only as the school becomes organized as a social whole, and as the child recognizes his conduct as a reflection or formulation of that society, will it be possible to have any moral training in our schools.[45]

The same can be said of promoting cultural pluralism. While an activity or two is nice and calls attention to the matter, it is the whole of the social situation and the continuing activities over time which will provide the needed patterns for the learner.

I have a student surprised in this vein of an activity within a whole social context. She was from the Midwest portion of the United States and student taught in a school outside of London. She was shocked to find that during a school assembly the students were instructed on the proper

way to eat chips (French fried potatoes)--i.e. with a fork, not with your fingers as is done in some cultures. The person learns in the whole context, not in isolated moments.

The matter of encouraging cultural pluralism has the two-dimensional characteristics of all that is implied in Dobbert's diagram. It also has the third dimensional characteristic of moving through all the situations that the learner is a part of over time. That is, it is the moving social whole that defines the person's values. Any promotion of a pluralism must examine the whole.

Now to answer our original question: Can multiethnic education encourage the valuing of cultural pluralism? If a multiethnic education is one which is sensitive to the plurality of ethnics and one which is structured to promote a value of pluralism (as any other value) then the promotion of the value is possible but difficult and will take time. The structure must reflect the social whole. It is possible, however, only if we allow the value to be changed and the concept of pluralism to be changed in the process. In short, the task is slippery.

Promotion of pluralism is in many ways antithetical to the values learned in any ethclass--because it is the structure of the ethclass that keeps it (the ethclass) different and separate from other groups. Pluralism allows for that, but discourages that part of the structure which keeps other groups at a distant. In essence, then, the promotion of pluralism destroys a part of the pluralism, by

bringing into common the valuing of other ethclasses. But as we saw above with ethnogenesis, the ethnic group moves in other directions as it embraces more commonalities with the dominant group. This means that the group changes, then what it shares with those outside the group changes, and then the pluralism which opened a part of the structure changes to readjust to the new boundaries.

Therefore, to encourage cultural pluralism, we must allow for cultural changes and even their relative mixes with one another. As pluralism changed in the past, so it must change in the future if it is to exist at all.

This means, I think, that the structure offered within the learning situation must allow for the internalized values of the adults or social others, but in a way that is compatible with, at least, an understanding that there may be benefit in differences. Then new appreciations can emerge, but with them will also emerge new difficulties and new boundaries. That is the joy of education within a living system.

ENDNOTES

[1] Horace Kallen, "Alain Locke and Cultural Pluralism," Journal of Philosophy 54 (February 1957): 119.

[2] National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education Standards (Washington, D.C.: NCATE, 1982), p. 14.

[3] Doris Grumbach, "The Literary Imagination," in Exploring the Concept of Mind, ed. Richard M. Caplan (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1986), p. 122.

[4] Edward T. Hall, "Beyond Culture, (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1977), p. 192.

[5] Margaret Mead, Foreword to Introduction to Socialization: Human Culture Transmitted, by Thomas Rhys Williams (Saint Louis: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1972), p. ix.

[6] Fred O. Gearing, "Toward a General Theory of Cultural Transmission, Anthropology and Education Quarterly 15 (Spring 1984): 29-37. Gearing divides the components in a different manner, but has the same essence of what will follow.

[7] Marion Lundy Dobbert et al., "Cultural Transmission in Three Societies: Testing a Systems-Based Field Guide," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 15 (Winter 1984): 275-311.

[8] See "Invited Comments" in Anthropology and Education Quarterly 15 (Winter 1984): 312-351, particularly Richard Chancy, "Cultural Transmission from the Native's Point of View," pp. 319-323; Robert J. Miller, "Transmitting 'Culture'," pp. 323-326; and Frederick Gearing, "On Dobbert et al., "Cultural Transmission," pp. 338-351. See also Mary Anne Pitman, et al. "Author's Response to Comments," pp. 351-367. Pitman, et al. argue that their work is significantly complex to do what they hope, plus allow further development of the theory.

[9] Gearing "On Dobbert et al.," p. 345.

[10] Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1976).

[11] Eliot Aronson, The Social Animal (New York: Wilt Freeman and Company, 1965), pp. 13-53.

[12] Gearing, "On Dobbert," p. 347.

[13] Ibid., p. 344.

[14] See Lawrence J. Dennis and George W. Stickel, "Mead and Dewey: Thematic Connections on Educational Topics," Educational Theory 34 (Summer/Fall 1981): 319-331, for more on the relationship between Mead and Dewey.

[15] John Dewey, "George Herbert Mead," Journal of Philosophy 28 (June 1931): 311.

[16] George Herbert Mead, Selected Writings, ed. Andrew J. Reck (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 143.

[17] Ibid., p. 146.

[18] James A. Gilchrest and Larry D. Browning, "Loose Coupling Theory: A 'Counter-Rational' Model of Organizational Communication," in Organizational Policy and Development v. 2, ed. Leicester R. Moise (Louisville, Kentucky: University of Louisville, 1984), p. 11.

[19] Robert N. Bellah, et al., Habits of the Heart, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985).

[20] Nicholas Appleton, Cultural Pluralism in Education: Theoretical Foundations (new York: Longman, 1983).

[21] Ibid., pp. 48, 126.

[22] Ibid., p. 150.

[23] Ibid., p. 33.

[24] Ibid., p. 29.

[25] William A. Newman, American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory (New York: Harper and Row, 1973) p. 53.

[26] James Banks, Multiethnic Education: Practices and Promises (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappan, 1977), p. 11.

[27] Newman, p. 63.

[28] Ibid., p. 67.

[29] Ibid., p. 79.

[30] Appleton, Cultural Pluralism, p. 34.

[31] Andrew Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States (New York: Wiley, 1974), p. 306.

[32] Appleton, Cultural Pluralism, p. 35.

[33] Ibid., p. 36.

[34] Ibid., pp. 35-37.

[35] Appleton, Cultural Pluralism, p. 31; (Greeley, Ethnicity, p. 309).

[36] Ibid., p. 37.

[37] Rus Verburg, "Test Response" in Human Relations Course taught by George W. Stickel, Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa, November 18, 1986.

[38] Appleton, Cultural Pluralism, p. 38.

[39] Ibid.

[40] See "No One Model American: A Statement on Multicultural Education," Journal of Teacher Education 24 (Winter 1973): 264-265; and AACTE A Global Perspective for Teacher Education, Pamphlet. (Washington, D.C., February 1983). As classic examples of the support of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

[41] Appleton, Cultural Pluralism, pp. 48, 126.

[42] Ricardo L. Garcia, Fostering a Pluralistic Society Through Multi-Ethnic Education, (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappan, 1978), p. 5.

[43] Edward T. Hall address space, time and extension respectively in the following: The Hidden Dimension, 1969; The Silent Language, 1973; Beyond Culture, 1977; each published in Garden City, NY by Doubleday Anchor Books.

[44] George Herbert Mead, "Moral Training in the Schools," in George Herbert Mead: Essays on his Social Philosophy, ed. John W. Petras (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), pp. 71072.

[45] Ibid., p. 72.